

THE DESERT PEOPLE

513 push the wide wooden slats together and lay blankets on them. Beds stand in the yard in summer, with the bedding rolled up during the day to keep it clean; in winter they are moved indoors.

264 Eating arrangements are also characteristically elastic. In the eastern districts, where every house has a table and chairs, family meals are the general practice, but no one is concerned if some member arrives late or not at all. Fiestas are the only occasions when group eating seems important.

262 No longer does the desert furnish all the food. Only two wild plants are still important in the Papago diet: the cholla bud and the fruit of the saguaro cactus. These plants are good sources of sugar, vitamins, and minerals.¹ Various seeds and wild greens are still gathered in season, but decreasing use of wild products has followed the introduction of stores on the Reservation, and Papago food is now rather like lower-class Mexican or Yaqui food. The usual three family meals each day are much alike in basic pattern: coffee, tortillas or bread, and some bean or other legume, which "makes the meal." These foods are supplemented by other vegetables and sometimes by meat, cheese, and eggs. Green corn is used in many forms—fresh, or dried and roasted and then ground for boiling alone or with black-eyed beans. Wheat is used in whole-wheat tortillas or bread and as pinole. Squash is boiled or baked, either fresh or dried, and several varieties of peas are also eaten. Principal meats in the diet are beef and chicken, but their use varies with the economic status of the family, for not all have cattle or poultry, and meat in the stores is expensive. Rabbits and other wild game provide additional meat.

527 The fiesta is the occasion when delicacies are set forth. Fiesta foods include
262 tamales and beef stew, with raisin rice pudding or canned fruit for dessert. Baker's bread and cake are greatly esteemed. Food for the fiesta is carefully planned and prepared, and an effort is made to serve the choicest dishes. In the home, however, it is considered pure ostentation to set too good a table.

146 Many Papago children show signs of malnutrition,² as the modern Papago
262 diet has deficiencies, the most serious of which is in vitamin C. In those seasons when fresh vegetables and wild greens are not available, the Papago eat very few foods which are rich in this vitamin; oranges and tomatoes are not grown on the Reservation and are expensive to buy. Nor is vitamin A very plentiful in the diet. Milk is used almost exclusively in coffee, and the total amount consumed is limited. School children must learn to drink milk, as many adults believe that undiluted it is bad for the stomach. As noted in

1. For a comprehensive study of Papago diet see Emma Reh, "An Economic Study of the Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona" (MS).

2. See Part III of the study.

THE DESERT PEOPLE

795

With the absence of priests and the passage of time, much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptized by godparents, and the people bury their own dead.

In these little churches today the Papago sing and pray in Spanish to the Holy Family and to San Francisco Xavier, kneeling before the *santos* (sacred pictures and images) much as they do before the altars in their own homes. For church services people appointed by the villagers lead prayers, and a group of women ordinarily sing hymns; appointed committees of men plan the fiestas. On the whole, religious observances are fairly casual and individual. The Desert People like to manage their own affairs: the fact that their religion is largely self-conducted is one of its chief holds on the Sonora Catholic Papago and a major barrier to inclusion in the Roman Catholic church.

THE FIESTA⁷527
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Near the church in almost every Papago village is a dance ground and close by is a large adobe or ocotillo building with an open kitchen called the "fiesta house." In and around this building, the church, and the dance ground take place the great religious and social events of the year—the fiestas. Sonora Catholics celebrate only a few ecclesiastical holidays: New Year's, Easter, the Finding of the Holy Cross (May 3), All Souls' Day (November 2), Christmas, and the feast days of San José (March 19), San Juan (June 24), and San Francisco (October 4). No one village observes all these holidays, but each has its own celebrations, usually two or three a year, which for convenience are often held on week ends rather than on the actual feast day. They are given, the people say, "to show that we still believe in our religion."

Sometimes a single family will give a "small fiesta," but the important occasions, the "big fiestas," are community projects. One man, usually a person of influence, or a committee of men, assumes leadership, and all the families co-operate in the preparations. Church and fiesta house are swept, and blankets and rugs are placed on the floor. Benches are placed between posts marking the dance ground, and above are hung many-colored, crepe-paper streamers; sometimes the posts are even wrapped. The church is also brightened with streamers and paper flowers. Many other jobs must be done: wood is hauled for fires; food is collected; an orchestra is hired.

The fiesta usually begins in the afternoon or early evening with a procession, which forms just outside the church. If the village has a statue of the saint

7. Parts of this section are taken from June Chesky, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

[Text continues on p. 84. - Analyst]

THE DESERT PEOPLE

527 being feted, it is carried at the head of the procession by a man or on a white
796 palanquin by a group of young girls. Children carry the smaller family *santos*, over which other children hold large wooden arches wrapped in white cloth caught at intervals with red ribbons or sprays of paper flowers. Still other boys and girls carry lighted candles. Behind them march the men and women who lead the hymns, and the crowd follows. The orchestra walks beside the main procession, playing modern dance music, while the crowd sings Spanish hymns, unmindful of the orchestra. At intervals the singing stops, prayers are said in Spanish, but the dance music continues. After marching around the dance ground and the church, the procession enters the church for hymns and prayers.

When the short service is concluded, the religious phase of the fiesta is at an end, and all except a few pious old ladies or mothers with tiny babies leave the church for the dance ground. The women sit on the benches or tend to the cooking, and the men collect in groups. Large fires are lit, and lanterns are hung on the posts.

527 The orchestra, composed of violins, guitars, and snare and bass drums, plays
533 two or three tunes, then the leader and the village chief make short speeches of welcome, in which the celebrants are bidden to enjoy the fiesta but to avoid drunkenness and to respect the property of others.

527 The children ordinarily start the dance; young girls, dancing together, are
533 next on the floor; finally, young men and even old people join in. Some fairly
535 recent jazz tunes are played, such as "Roll Out the Barrel" and "You Are My Sunshine," but most of the music consists of polkas and schottisches. Although some of the boarding-school Indians know the correct steps for these dances, almost everyone dances a sort of adapted foxtrot, the man usually grasping his partner tightly around the neck. Sometimes automobile lights are turned on the dancers with their gay rayon dresses and bright shirts. The crowd dances in a counterclockwise circle, and the schoolboy who tries to vary this pattern is sharply rebuked by the dancers he impedes.

527 At most fiestas a solo dancer (*pahkowla*) appears late in the evening. He is
535 usually an elderly medicine man who dances and makes jokes for the amusement of the crowd. Barefoot, with his trousers rolled up, he wears strings of cocoon rattles wrapped around his legs from ankle to knee. To the music of one violin and a guitar or harp, the *pahkowla* performs his dance with arms hanging loosely from the shoulders and his body slightly bent forward; he stamps with one foot and scrapes the other into position on the unaccented beat of the music. His jokes, directed at the men in the audience, are frequently

DIVERSE CREEDS

vulgar.⁸ Toward the end of his dance men or women from the crowd may join 527
the *pahkowi*. Afterward the dancing goes on as before. Sometimes there are 535
fireworks, a chicken-pull, or an olla-breaking.⁹

Meanwhile in the feast house the male members of the host families are 527
serving all the guests with chili, tamales, coffee, wheat buns, possibly beans, [262]
garbanzos (chick-peas), a meat-vegetable stew, and usually rice pudding or
stewed fruit. There is considerable drinking in the darkness away from the
fire and, since it is impolite to refuse a proffered bottle, a good deal of drunken-
ness. The police are frequently invited to be present in order to prevent trouble.

The fiesta does not break up until all the food is gone, perhaps at dawn or
noon of the following day. Then the orchestra plays "Home, Sweet Home" in
waltz time to close the dance.

On certain feast days there are special observances. On San José's Day 527
friends tie silk scarves, belts, and other gifts on the arms of all the men and 796
women named for the saint, in a ceremony called "tying the Joses and Jose-
finas." The Joses and Josefynas must then reciprocate by pouring drinks for
the givers and finally for the whole crowd. At the fiesta of San Francisco
objects blessed during the annual pilgrimage are brought out for the edifica-
tion of the crowd.

MAGDALENA

Faith in San Francisco Xavier and his good works has a deep hold on all 788
Papago Catholics and is one of the main foci of Sonora Catholic belief. To
some of these Indians this saint seems even more important than the Trinity,
and every family hopes to make a pilgrimage to his church at Magdalena in
Sonora, Mexico, each year.

Padre Kino, who brought Christianity to the Papago, dedicated the Magda-
lena church in 1711 to the patron saint of the Jesuits, Francis Xavier. During
the ceremony Kino took ill at the altar and died shortly thereafter. He was
buried in the church near the altar. As the fame of Kino's work among the
Indians spread, the church became a shrine to which great crowds came
from all over northwestern Mexico and what is now Arizona to celebrate the
saint's day, December 3. Apparently when the Franciscan order replaced the

8. The *pahkowi*'s dance and juts may be copied from the Yaqui *pavole*, whom the Papago see
perform in the United States and in Mexico, particularly at Magdalena. On special occasions the
Papago hire *pavole* from Arizona Yaqui villages to dance for them.

9. In chicken-pulling, a rooster is buried up to the neck and riders run their horses toward it,
leaving over to try to pull it out of the ground. In olla-breaking, people take turns hitting with
sticks at an olla full of coquina which hangs from a corner of the church. When someone succeeds
in breaking the olla, everyone scrambles for the sweets that fall out.

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

house, they will spend hours playing around it, patting it, and leading it about. 857
A boy of this age is delighted if someone gives him a wide-brimmed hat, a bright silk shirt, high-heeled boots, or any other part of a cowboy's regalia.

Little girls' play is also imitative. They enjoy the rag dolls made by mother or grandmother, and they are often seen playing house in a corner of the yard, out of the way of the women at work but within sight and call. Girls over eight are usually with the older women. Sometimes they help or run errands, but, even when not working, they prefer to stay near by, joining in the women's conversation now and then, while they amuse themselves by dressing each other's hair with ribbons, looking at snapshots or illustrated magazines, or perhaps playing records on the phonograph.

Dogs, horses, and cattle, which can bring sickness, according to Papago belief, are nevertheless played with freely, and all children play with the family dog. Papago dogs, kept as workers, not as pets, are usually large enough to scare the coyotes away from the house, but they are thin and underfed because as a rule they must forage for themselves. Adults are sometimes fond of them, but ordinarily they are kicked about and handled roughly. Kindness to animals is undeveloped among the Papago, perhaps (as Underhill has suggested), because animals have magic power and therefore have no need of special consideration by men.² The attitude of children toward animals reflects that of adults; they play with the dog often but are unconcerned if some trick of theirs hurts him. The adults themselves appear to be amused at the child's ingenuity and the animal's efforts to escape. [825]

By the time children are five they need no longer be warned against handling wild animals, living or dead, for they know that disease will surely come as a result. They stay away from animal burrows and show little curiosity about the wild creatures of the desert. 857 825

Perhaps the most exciting play that the child knows comes at the fiesta. 857
In the western districts children attend four or five celebrations a year, most of them outside their own villages. In Baboquivari fewer fiestas are given, and children do not so often attend those in other villages. As soon as the family arrives at the dance ground, the child leaves his parents to join a group of his own age and sex and returns to his mother only when he is hungry or sleepy. 527

Boys of five through ten seldom join in the dancing. They play around the dance ground, pretending to be cowboys, snuffing and shouting much as they would at home. Hearing the music, watching the dancers, and keeping out of the way of drunks adds to the excitement.

Little girls often start the dancing and are on the dance ground with one

2. Ruth Underhill, *Singing for Power*, p. 49.

THE DESERT PEOPLE

857 another much of the evening. At other times they sit on the benches, watching
527 all that goes on and chatting merrily with their friends. When they grow tired,
they join some of their female relatives in the church for a nap.

MODESTY AND SEX TRAINING

864 As indicated earlier, Papago boys and girls of five to ten usually work and
play separately. But brothers and sisters or males and females of this age do
not avoid one another. When siblings of opposite sex occasionally join forces,
they play freely, even to wrestling together for the possession of some desired
object. Brothers, sisters, and cousins may roam from one house to another in
mixed groups, but couples are not seen alone, even though they are siblings.

Children of five to ten have already developed great modesty about their
bodies. A person secludes himself in a room of the house to bathe, and no one
enters until he is re clothed. Papago undress only partially for sleeping, so that
brothers and sisters sleeping together or in the same room do not expose the
genitals. Children scatter behind separate bushes to urinate. Little girls at play
are careful to keep their skirts down and pull their dresses well around their
legs when they sit on the ground, lest they be teased for immodesty. (Surpris-
ingly enough, when they are scuffling with their brothers, they seem un mind-
ful of their skirts.) Boys playing together are not so shy of exposing themselves
and will swim nude in the *charco* or horse tank.

[831] There is no indication that children of this age group are introspective about
sex. Sexual intercourse as a part of adult life can scarcely be unknown to them
in view of Papago sleeping arrangements, and they all understand the func-
tion of pregnancy. Whether adults try to impart sex knowledge to children or
they merely pick it up from what they see or hear is not known. Quite probably
the latter is the case, since Papago children are trained not to ask questions
and verbal explanation (except by way of lectures on virtue) is not a Papago
teaching method. There is opportunity for children to acquire sex knowledge
casually, for jokes and allusions to reproductive processes are rife in everyday
conversation. Nor is sex spoken of only among adults; female relatives, for
example, sometimes tease fat little girls by saying that they are pregnant.

THE CHILD IN HIS HOME

855 The Papago child of five to ten is usually happy in his home relations.
In this period the mother shares with the grandmother the dominant position
in the lives of her children. The mother assigns to each child his household
tasks and does much of the persuading, arguing, or scolding that is necessary.
But she is also responsible for the child's happiness, and he can expect indul-

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

ribbons she wants and relieve her of work occasionally, so that she may join her friends. However, the domestic labor which she shares with all the women of her household is continuous and confining, and there is little time left for village visiting. Their common effort and well-nigh exclusive companionship results in close bonds of affection between the women.

A reputation for proficiency in the household arts helps the girl to make a good marriage. Even today, when marriages are no longer arranged on the basis of suitability to family needs, men look on industry (in the girl and her family) as an exceedingly valuable attribute, and it is a criterion in choosing a wife.

Papago girls are far from indifferent to their appearance. Dress and good looks occupy much of their time, thought, and conversation. Many dresses are bought in town, and these serve as models for homemade clothing. Girls wear low-heeled shoes, usually with ankle-length socks after the current fashion in the towns. Those in the western districts, who are nearer to white towns than the eastern girls, use cosmetics generously and wear a profusion of hair ribbons, pins, and other "store" ornaments. Baboquivari girls, though much more acculturated in other respects, are less inclined to imitate the fads of American and Mexican women, but they are not less interested in making a good appearance.

A girl spends most of her leisure time with other girls of her age in the village, usually her cousins. Because young people often live some distance apart and leisure hours may not coincide, the group is usually small. There is a persistent tendency for each girl to seek out one other for close companionship. Some girls make stable and lasting friendships; others shift from one intimate to another. Young girls do not ordinarily stray far from the house cluster, and they often loiter around the ramada where the women of the household are working; here they discuss the latest gossip, make jokes, or plan for some important event. They may entertain themselves with picture magazines, and sometimes they weave baskets together.

No one anticipates a fiesta with more pleasure than the teen-age girl. If the event takes place in her village, she joins the women in making paper flowers for the church and in preparing food for the guests. No girl goes to a fiesta by herself, and, if the celebration is in another village, she must be accompanied by one of the men of the family as well as by an older woman. Adolescent girls take no part in the religious phase of the celebration except perhaps to carry statues or candles in the procession. Dressed in their best, they sit together on the benches around the dance ground with the other women who wish to dance.

(131)

[Text continues on p 153-Analyst]

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

Shortly after the little girls start the dancing (imitative ballroom style), the adolescent girls begin. They dance together in the afternoon, for it is not until evening that boys and men join the group. Then all through the night and perhaps until noon the next day, the girls dance—usually with boys their own age, sometimes with men, otherwise with each other. Only the youngest of the adolescents—the girls of eleven and twelve—do not dance with males. Etiquette requires that the man come over to the bench where the girl is sitting to ask her to dance. He does not choose a partner until the music starts, hence there is no opportunity for conversation between dances. When boy and girl dance together, they do not talk or laugh; both are silent and completely serious. The instant the music stops, they break the embrace and go rapidly to opposite sides of the dance ground. There is little other opportunity for social intercourse between them at the dances, and girls are not supposed to leave the lighted area of the fiesta ground except to go into church infrequently to rest.

THE BOY GROWS UP

No ceremony marks the puberty of a boy, but just as certainly as the girl he is oriented toward the world of adults. When he is about eleven years old, a boy begins helping the men of the household. He learns to plow, plant, hoe, and harvest crops; to herd, rope, and brand cattle in the co-operative roundups; to care for horses, build fences, and repair buildings. Gradually, as his strength and skill increase, he learns to do a man's full share of work. No longer does he merely do odd jobs assigned him at intervals; whenever he is not at school, he is expected to help with the work at hand until it is finished.

From this time on his leisure at home as well as his working hours will be spent mostly with the men of the household. Occasionally the teen-age boy will handle a small child or try to get him to walk or talk, and once in a while he may condescend to join his younger brothers in a game of marbles. Away from home older boys as well as girls show considerable concern for their younger siblings' welfare and proper conduct, but in the family group the adolescent boy is definitely associated with the men; he sits and talks with them while his younger brothers dash about the yard. If the family includes a man in his early twenties, the youth will probably be on intimate terms with him.¹ He is now closer to his father than at any time since babyhood, for his father teaches him and works side by side with him. Like all the men, the boy has great respect for his grandfather and works under his direction. It is the grandfather who talks about proper conduct, teaching the lad that a good Papago is honest and industrious and lives at peace with his fellow-men.

1. This relationship is comparable in many respects with that of five-to-six-year-old girls with young women of the household (see chap. 10).

THE DESERT PEOPLE

883 The adolescent boy is always casual and friendly with the women of the household. When the men are at home, they join the women working under the ramada, and everyone participates in the chatter and joking that ensues. Though most of the time the youth is away from his female relatives, he often stops at the house cluster for a few minutes during the day, bringing the women news of their men and any local gossip he has picked up. He occasionally lifts a heavy article for them or is helpful in some other way but is no longer expected to make himself generally useful around the house.

Outside the household the teen-age boy's most intimate associates are lads of his own age, but he is not limited to boys of his own village, for in herding or at the intervillage roundups he always meets and works with youths from other communities. It is not difficult to maintain these friendships, as a boy can usually catch a ride to another village or go on his own horse.

883 Many Papago boys of this age learn to play musical instruments, usually the
539 violin or guitar. They play entirely by ear, learning the Mexican and American dance tunes from phonograph records. Two or three lads may spend many hours practicing together; the others always enjoy listening. Rarely does a boy under eighteen become proficient enough to play in the orchestra at a fiesta, except as a drummer, but, if he is an unusually good musician, he may replace a violinist or guitarist while the older man rests or eats.

883 Fiestas are great occasions for adolescent boys. They help to clean and
527 decorate the dance ground and feast house. They keep the fires going and
292 spread hot coals near the women's benches. For the celebration they dress in colorful cowboy clothes: freshly polished high-heeled boots, wide-brimmed hats, new jeans, bright silk shirts, and often leather belts or wristguards studded with colored glass.

882 The boys take no part in the religious phase of the fiesta, nor do they enter
527 the church for rest as the girls of their age do. As they are too young to asso-
273 ciate freely with men, but yet feel themselves much too grown up to stay with the women or play with small boys, the lads usually stand about the big fires and sometimes loiter around the parked cars where the bootleggers do business. It is not uncommon for boys as young as sixteen to have whiskey at a fiesta, but ordinarily they do much less drinking than the men. Some of the boys cannot afford expensive bootleg whiskey, and others are still under the influence of their mothers and grandmothers, who dread heavy drinking. At any rate, few teen-age boys are involved in drunken fighting. Boys smoke openly and without fear of reprimand as soon as they have money for cigarettes.

883 The boys do not dance so constantly as the girls of their age, for they never

(154)

[Text continues on p. 156-Analyst]

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working. 562

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated. 584 883 [177]

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking. 883 836 527

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custum" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage. 836 [940]

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults. 584 585

BEGINNING MY JOURNEY

31

the wagon was not wanting; also rifle, shot-gun, and riding saddle were taken along, not to mention photographic cameras and the necessary scientific instruments. In the outskirts of Tucson, near an old mill, we filled our barrel and gave our horses a good drink at the clear, smooth-flowing stream of the Santa Cruz River, which was in such a delightful contrast to the arid landscape.

It had been my intention to go down first along the eastern side of the Baboquivari Range as far as La Osa Ranch, but the road turned out to be sandy and heavy, and I was obliged to return and limit my initiatory journey to travelling along its western side. A happy-looking Papago family from the suburbs of Tucson passed us on their way to the sahuaros (giant cactus); they were going to spend the *Dia de San Juan*, midsummer day, in the country picking the much coveted fruit. An Indian on horseback was on his way to the hot city, Tucson, for the same celebration. Everyone to his taste!

Baboquivari is the familiar name given to an extensive range south-west of Tucson. From its central part rises a peak of somewhat striking shape which gave origin to its name, Baboquivari being a Spanish corruption of the Papago name Vavkivolik, meaning: "mountain (vav) narrow about the middle (kivolik)"; seen from the south, the almost perpendicular sides of the peak appear slightly drawn in at the base. The peak, rising nearly fifty miles south-west of Tucson as the crow flies, can be seen from a great distance, from the neighborhood of the Jack-rabbit mine and the Ajo Mountains in the west, to Altar, Sonora, in the south. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of the

A RECORD OF EVENTS

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- In 1881: A relative became crazy, killed his wife with a knife, and then himself. 159
- In 1882: First *fiesta* in Mexican fashion took place at a rancheria which formerly existed where at present the Indian Oasis is. (This means that the Indians of Arizona began to adopt the social gathering in use among the Mexicans, without imparting any religious importance to the festival. A *fiesta* among Mexicans always includes dancing, which, in our time, has been adopted by the Papagoes of Sonora, but generally not in Arizona. On the occasion related, the people danced one by one in a circle.) 173
- In 1885: A visit to a Pima feast. Many singers went, and many others, all well dressed. [527] ●
- In 1887: An earthquake in the "flowers disappear" moon. [133]
- In 1889: The Pima took part in a dance in order to secure cattle. This was in the "dry grass" moon.
- In 1890: A feast at San Xavier in the "dry grass moon."
- In 1891: San Xavier Indians came to dance at Kvitak (near the "Pump-house" near Horseshoe).
- In 1893: A foot-race at Kvitak in "inner bone" moon (winter). The racers starting in the middle of the day, ran as far as Santa Rosa, returning at dark (about 8 P.M.). [526]
- In 1897: Foot-races at Áktjin.
- In 1898: Two nephews put in prison in Yuma for smuggling mescal brandy.
- In 1899: Two relatives imprisoned in Tucson for stealing cattle.
- In 1901: He was isolated at Tucson on account of small-pox in the family. [164]
- In 1902: A foot-race at Tjeavólitak.
- In 1903: A foot-race at Kvitak.
- In 1904: The purification of girls in the winter. [783]
- In 1907: His friends put in jail for fighting at a sahuaro feast at Kvitak.
- In 1908: Many Papagoes that were attending the *fiesta* of San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora, were imprisoned for resisting the Mexican authorities when being pressed into military service to fight the Yaqui. A chief from San Xavier went down to Magdalena and helped them to get out.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

466 means little because of tremendous variation in physical
362 form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been
discussed previously.

AGE

362 A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages
run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a
long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite
new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production
is of very recent date; mainly during and after World
War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have
had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on
age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms
of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about
5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a
long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal
county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred
in years immediately past.¹

LEISURE TIME

512 For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields
461 with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m.
to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an
evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking
or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free
after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of
rest.

466 Cotton farmers show almost no realization that their
526 hands have any leisure time by providing recreational fac-
517 ilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of
521 the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field.
These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could
be played, and employees furnished their own equipment.
Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even
this elemental form of recreation.² Of necessity, much

662 from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment
461 averaged \$4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the
group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only
\$3,968.89.

¹Based on information on 28 camps averaging 5.3 years old.
Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 5.3 years old.
Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.
28 of 31 labor camps on which data was obtained.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

517 of necessity, much
52 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space: drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

797 Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course
521 had recreational resources of those population centers at
[563] their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday. Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans, this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

527 About half the Papago women in the camps do some washing on Sunday.¹ An occasional individual picks some cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp, they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where they can hold their services.² One far-sighted farmer who understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.³

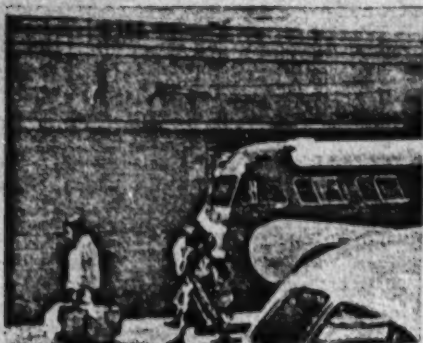
¹Based on information from 8 families.

²Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Sonora Catholics are remnants of the teachings of the early Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the padres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church.

³"With the absence of priests and the passage of time, much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptized by godparents, and the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1948, p. 81-82.

⁴Based on information from 8 families.

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Half the Papago pilgrims came by bus.



Papago children explored the church founded by Eusebio Kino and Augustin de Campos over 250 years ago . . .



or enjoyed a ride . . .



while their parents shopped for candles for San Francisco Xavier . . . and ribbons for stay at homes . . . and statues . . . and religious pictures . . . and milagros.

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[641] their fields and springs on both sides of the boundary have given many virtually dual citizenship. So there is doubt as to whether the Papagos need "Tourist Permits." In 1950 apparently three-fourths of the Desert People who journeyed to Magdalena obtained "Tourist Permits" which cost \$3 U. S. currency.¹

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[537] The Magdalena celebration is not wholly religious in character. The plazas of the town are jammed with flimsy booths of poles and mats selling toys, cloth, shoes, hardware, pottery, curios, and goods of every sort, as well as food and drink. There are games of chance, and amusements: merry-go-rounds and power rides; there are beauty parlors and dance halls.

This secular side of fiesta is not ignored by the Desert People. In fact, they join in whole-heartedly. Magdalena merchants look upon them as special guests of the town, welcome guests who are well-behaved and "rich." Every Papago questioning on the matter said he enjoyed his stay in Magdalena.²

[178] This great carnival with its colorful meeting of diverse cultures—Spanish, Papago, and Yaqui and Mayo Indian—seems to be the holiday of the year for the Desert People. Apparently it has largely replaced the old Papago New Year at the sahuaro-jack ceremony early in July as the major calendrical event. Such an occasion cannot lack its economic aspects.

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788 The Papago pilgrim pays about \$7.00 for his transportation. \$3 more goes for a "Tourist Permit." Lodging for 3 nights during fiesta is expensive in Magdalena, since everyone doubles his price, and renting rooms never let at other times of the year is a primary industry of the place. Sleeping space in a room or in a patio near the main plaza in Magdalena costs about \$2 U. S. per night. This means another \$6 expenditure for Papagos staying the average length of time. Eating for 3 days is not expensive at throw-together restaurants on plazas and side streets. A satisfactory meal could be purchased for 3 pesos at a reasonably clean establishment. At night a feast (roast whole pig with fresh buns, tomato and vegetable for example) could be had for 4 pesos. Peddlers hawked

for 13 Papagos giving information 10 obtained permits, or 77%.

In this case, 8 individuals of 8. The author has seen 8 fiestas at Magdalena; has yet to see Papagos who didn't seem to be having a good time.
³ Dobyns, 1950, p. 28.

Magdalena

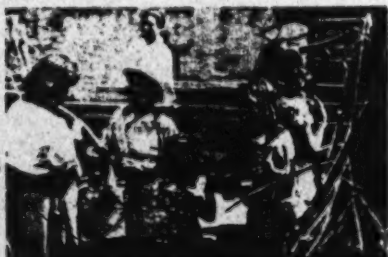
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Papago pilgrims watched Yaqui and Mayo
dancers fascinated . . . paid them hard-earned
U. S. coin . . .

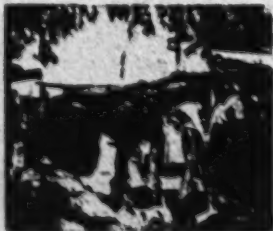
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bought watermelons . . . boiled green
corn . . . sugar cane . . .

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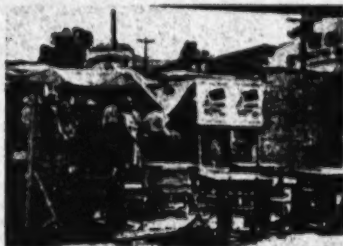
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even youngsters . . .



ate in sidewalk restaurants . . .



and drank Mexican beer . . . mes-
cal . . . tequila . . . in the sidewalk
bars . . .



and passed out . . . to be helped home . . .
before the police came.